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# THE PEOPLES OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL ASIATIC TURKEY

By LEON DOMINIAN

[Maps facing pp. 852 and 868.]

The peoples and ideas emanating from within the realm which still bears the name of Turkey have left an indelible mark on the rest of the world. Crossed by some of the great highroads of history, the land is stirringly inspiring in every aspect in which it is beheld. Its heritage of memories and the prestige of a happier and grander past are undisturbed by touches of sad decline. The foundations of our progressive spirit were laid in that eastern region. It is the seat of our civilization and the cradle of our religion. From a purely scientific standpoint, its human grouping and surface configuration present highly interesting interdependence. This article will be confined mainly to a study of this relation. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Councilor Madison Grant for new views and important additions suggested during the revision of the proof.<sup>1</sup>

The region is divisible into six major geographical sections. Each forms a background against which distinct types of the human family are displayed. The various groups differ from one another by religion or language, often even by race. A fringe of fresh and verdant coastland which surrounds the elevated shelf of Asia Minor is largely Greek and Christian. The only foothold which Western thought, art or temper ever obtained in Asiatic Turkey is found within this wave-lashed strip of land. The plateau-heart of Anatolia is predominantly Turkish and Mohammedan. The Christian element scattered on its steppelike surface is unable to assert itself and yields to Oriental ascendancy. The high and broad mountain masses which border it on the east are homelands of the Armenoids, generally Christians, sometimes Mohammedans, but almost always characterized by broad-headedness accompanied by a peculiar flattening of the back of the skull. Beyond this mountain barrier Asiatic Turkey becomes entirely Semitic, being mainly Arabian in speech and overwhelmingly Mohammedan in creed. Three main regions characterize this southern area. The long and narrow cor-

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<sup>1</sup> The writer is also indebted for valuable suggestions to Professor R. J. H. Gottheil of Columbia University and to Dr. E. Banks, late Director of the Mesopotamian Research Expedition, for many of the photographs reproduced with the text.

ridor of Syria became the highway which in antiquity bound the flourishing empires of the Nile basin to the powerful kingdoms of the Hittite highlands or of the Mesopotamian lowlands. Its motley population containing representatives of every race is a relic of former to-and-fro human displacements along its troughlike extension. In the adjoining desert Bedouin tribes find their favorite tramping ground. The twin valley of Mesopotamia is the home of peoples in whom fusion of Semitic and Indo-European elements is observable.

The history of this land is that of its invaders. Successive streams of humanity poured into it from four superabundant reservoirs of men. Its central mountain zone was the motherland of a virile race whose sons went forth at intervals to breathe vitality in the bosom of pacific populations scattered between the Ægean coast and the valleys of the Nile or of Mesopotamia. Armenians and a number of Mohammedan sectaries represent today this "Alpine" race. Mediterranean men proceeded constantly from the south and west to new homes in the pleasant valleys that connected eastern Ægean shores with the interior tableland. Mobile Semitic hosts abandoned the plateau of inner Arabia before the time mentioned in our earliest ascertainable records and drifted naturally northwards towards the fertile Tigris-Euphrates basin or the commercial routes of Syria. Finally a Turki element, lured out of its mountain cradle in the Altai by scattered grasslands extending westwards, swarmed in successive hordes into Asia Minor and even beyond, well into the heart of Europe.

In addition to the foregoing fundamental wanderings, the inflow of an Iranian element, composed of men of Aryan speech, passes within our ken. This contingent marched out of the plateau of Iran and attained the Turkish highland without incurring the necessity of scaling its slopes. As a result of this migration Aryan language permeates Armenian<sup>2</sup> extensively. The Turks also have appropriated a certain amount of Persian words and culture from the same source. Racially, however, the eastern element was absorbed by the Armenoid population.

The present inhabitants of the diversified domains of the Sultans have been welded by the run of history into a shadowy political unity which has failed to conciliate their incompatibilities of origin and ideals. Turkey is a thoroughly theocratic state. Its sovereign-

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<sup>2</sup> Fully one-third of Armenian consists of words of Persian stock. Some Armenian philologists point to the existence of a small remnant of highly ancient words which cannot be traced to Aryan forms and which probably represent the survival of a language indigenous to the Armenian highlands.

caliph and his subjects have always considered it their most important mission to bring Islam to the infidel. So great is the hold of ideals over the human mind, however, that the non-Mohammedan populations have clung passionately to their religious beliefs. We are thus forced to seek in creeds the main distinguishing traits which, outwardly at least, divide the inhabitants of Turkey into groups known by different names. We shall see, however, that in the minds of many of them, language or historical traditions have little significance. At the same time it is believed that distinctions of a more fundamental character will be brought out in the course of this study.

#### GREEKS

Our knowledge of the first appearance of Greeks in Asia Minor has undergone radical revision in recent years. Their prehistoric culture can be traced as far back as the Neolithic. The chief interest of modern discovery centers around the now accepted fact that Greek culture originally invaded the region from the south and that the Indo-European element which brought Aryan speech to the land is a later wave which flooded the original Mediterranean stock at some time during the transition from the Age of Bronze to that of Iron.<sup>3</sup> The southwestern coast was first colonized. A northerly spread occurred thence and proceeded mainly along the coast.<sup>4</sup>

The sequence of geological events preceding man's appearance upon the Ægean coast of Asia had imparted features which were destined to favor human development to an exceptional degree. A land-bridge connecting the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas occupied the site of the Ægean Sea at the dawn of Quaternary times. The subsidence of the land during this period was accompanied by heavy fracturing trending in east-west lines. The Ægean archipelago, studded with islands and surrounded by deeply indented coasts, conveys a vivid picture on the map of the crustal shattering which occurred.

Climate also conferred its share of advantages. The long and narrow valleys are sheltered by mountains on all sides except to seaward. Northerly air currents cannot reach them. Frosts or snows are hence unusual.<sup>5</sup> The course of moisture-laden winds blowing landward from the seas that wash the three coasts of Asia Minor is arrested by the mountainous rim of the peninsula. Pre-

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Hall : *The Ancient History of the Near East*, Methuen, London, 1913, pp. 31-79.

<sup>4</sup> R. Dussaud : *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Egée*, Gentner, Paris, 1914, pp. 414-455.

<sup>5</sup> D. G. Hogarth : *The Nearer East*, Appleton, New York, 1902, p. 102.



cipitation is almost entirely expended upon the narrow shore lands. Copious rainfall and flowing rivers thus provide this historic Anatolian fringe with patches of luxuriant vegetation and green valleys. The interior tableland on the other hand remains parched and barren during the summer months.

A splendid stage for Greek history was thus built during the prehuman period. Early Mediterranean oncomers discovered sheltered havens and fertile inlets along the entire development of the fancifully dissected coast. A natural festoon of outlying islands increased their security by providing them with advanced posts for the detection of hostile raids. Erosion along the parallel lines of east-west rifts had carved fair valleys in which the winding rivers of classical literature found a channel. But above all, the sea contributed commerce and cosmopolitanism, both great elements of world power. These in turn favored the growth of tolerance,—a trait which has ever marked the Western mind and which at that particular spot was to constitute a bastion destined to remain impregnable to the opposing spirit of the East.<sup>6</sup>

Intermediate site, low relief above sea level and genial climate combined to give the Greeks a full portion of the delights of daily life. These are the physical elements upon which the striking cultural superiority of Hellenism is founded and without the concurrence of which it has never set permanent foot anywhere. The brilliant florescence of Greek civilization in pagan time attained its apogee wherever these three geographical factors prevailed. The Byzantine Empire succumbed before Eastern onslaught because it was gradually converted into an Asiatic state and thus exceeded the boundaries marked by nature for Greek humanity.

The sixth century of the pagan era was the Golden Age of Hellenism in Asia Minor. The elongated seaward valleys became the seat of flourishing and independent nations. A strong democratic spirit prevailed among their inhabitants. City states or self-governing communities were numerous. Their merchant princes drew on the vast eastern rearland for supplies which they sold to Europe. They also collected heavy tolls for the freight directed eastwards from the west. A double stream of wealth thus flowed into their treasuries. The prosperity of this period has never been paralleled since in the region.

Creative art found a home upon a site so eminently favored by nature. The heart and mind of its inhabitants throbbed respon-

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<sup>6</sup> D. G. Hogarth: *Ionia and the Near East*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909; J. L. Myres: *Greek Lands and the Greek People*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1910.

sively to the stirring events which affected their lives as a result of their country's situation at the junction of the most important sea and land highways of the world then known. There the antagonism between East and West, out of which so much world history has been made, broke into violent clashes after the periods of commercial interchange. Talent was spurred to high achievement under the beneficial stimulus of foreign contact, wealthy patronage and genial environment. A long chain of imposing ruins and prolific discoveries of matchless masterpieces of the craftsman's or artist's loving toil convey ample testimony of nature's concentrated prodigality on this famous coastland.

The present Greek occupants of the Anatolian shores reflect their pleasant environment in the lightness of heart which is one of their distinguishing characteristics. Their craving for gaiety, society and enjoyment is unfailing. Even the gloom of Asiatic dominion does not prevent merrymaking at every conceivable opportunity. In these respects the Greeks share to an eminent degree the feelings and gallantry of the nations of the Western world.

With the exception perhaps of the Circassians, the Greeks are the handsomest of the inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey. Classical forms of the head and of the general cast of countenance are met in every nook of the Anatolian seaboard. Their profiles recall the gently curving lines of ancient Greek statues or medals. Among women graceful carriage of the head and neck adds to their charm. The gait of the men is firm and erect.

Fishing and sailing are the hereditary occupations of the coastal Greek populations of Asia Minor. Inland they become traders. The "corner" grocery or the village butcher shop is generally owned by a Greek. In recent years the Greek has learned to play the part of the promoter in the growing development of Asia Minor. He is often the middleman who brings Western capital to Eastern opportunity. In this his rôle differs but slightly from that of his Lydian or Carian ancestors.

The true Greek is met only as far inland as a whiff of the salt sea air can be inhaled. Eastward, on the Anatolian tableland, Greek communities of the ancient Phrygian and Cappadocian lands differ from kindred coastal populations as widely as the fascinating green-swards of the one vary from the semi-arid steppe of the other. Once beyond the range of maritime influences, Greeks often forget their own language and adopt Turkish instead. This is frequently the case in many of the inland settlements where Turkish is now the

only medium of oral expression for Christian thought.<sup>7</sup> Racially, too, the Greeks of the inland towns and villages betray a probably Alpine or Armenoid origin rather than Mediterranean descent. Short stature, ample chest development and broad-headedness are conspicuous among them. The rock-hewn villages south of Mt. Argaeus afford a clue to the origin and antiquity of these mountain Greeks.<sup>8</sup> They are descendants of the natives which were conquered by the armies of Greek pagan states or by Byzantine troops. The conquerors brought language and culture to the upland populations but were numerically insufficient to impose a new racial stratum. Later the wave of Turkish invasion drove out Greek language and forced Asiatic speech on the same mountain populations without always replacing Christianity by Mohammedanism.

Duality of language is sometimes accompanied by a strange duality of creed among Anatolian Greeks. At Jevizlik, on the road between Trebizond and Gumushchane, dwell crypto-Christian Greeks who publicly profess Mohammedanism while maintaining secret workshop of Greek orthodoxy.<sup>9</sup> The inauguration of a constitutional form of government in 1908, with its promise of religious liberty, gave the members of the community an opportunity to denounce their outward form of faith and proclaim exclusive adherence to the religion they had never forsaken.

To the philologist these ancient Greek communities are veritable treasure grounds, especially when found in mountainous districts. Archaic forms of speech are in current use among their inhabitants. In many, the purity of the ancient Greek dialects of Asia Minor has been preserved with slight contamination of later literary influences. The names of those who speak these vernaculars supply interesting connection with the classical period of Hellenism. Socrates or Pericles will cook daily for the traveler, and Themistocles supply him with tobacco. More than that, they all make themselves intelligible in the style—and the spirit, too—of inscriptional language.

Many of these communities owe their survival to the proficiency of their members in a particular industry. The settlements of Greek miners scattered in the Pontic and Tauric mining districts are instances in point. The Turkish conquest of the Byzantine empire was accomplished by Asiatic barbarians who knew how to fight but

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<sup>7</sup> In many of these Anatolian communities Greek is written with Turkish characters.

<sup>8</sup> G. de Jerphanion: *La région d'Urgub (Cappadoce)*, *La Géogr.*, Vol. 30, No. 1, July 15, 1914, pp. 1-11.

<sup>9</sup> They are the Mezzo-Mezzos of Levantine designation.

included no artisans in their ranks. They were therefore obliged to rely upon the populations of the conquered lands for the maintenance of industrial and commercial activity. This notorious incompetence of the Turk for any pursuit other than that of soldiering is at bottom the prime cause of the survival of Christian communities within Ottoman boundaries.

#### TURKS

The Turks and their name were first revealed to the Western world in the sixth century of our era. But their invasion of Asia Minor must preferably be conceived as a gradual infiltration begun in prehistoric times. Hittite carvings represent, among others, a recognizable Mongoloid type of Tatar soldiers who fought as allies of the great mountain state.<sup>10</sup> Pig-tails, high cheek-bones and oblique eyes have been conspicuously modeled by the sculptor. Tatar migrations are thus discerned in the morning of the history of Asia Minor. The early invaders were steadily reinforced from the east by their kinsmen. The rise of the Seljuk Turks to dominance was the explosion of energy accumulated in the course of the centuries in which this movement of Altaic tribes had persisted. The consolidation of Ottoman power marked its culmination. A single tribe could never have acquired sufficient strength to establish a mighty empire had not its ranks been swollen by members of kindred groups encountered during its migrations. This is what actually happened when Jenghiz Khan and Timur appeared on the stage of history. Turkish accounts describe both as fiery leaders, men who could command the adherence of the vast swarm of descendants of their kinsmen, in whose footsteps they marched. Sultan Osman, the founder of the present Turkish dynasty and reputed of the same caliber, likewise drew on a human legacy of centuries, for the accomplishment of his designs.

Unfortunately, the Turks bear a name which is utterly void of significance. They themselves apply it to every Mohammedan inhabitant of Asia Minor without discrimination of race or origin. But for fully eight centuries they have stocked their harems with women seized from conquered populations. It is no exaggeration to say that this human tax has been levied on almost every family of the Caucasus, Western Asia and the countries of the Balkan Peninsula. Today the net result of this variegated intermixture is that the Tatar origin of the average Turk, so called, is entirely concealed

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<sup>10</sup> J. Garstang : *The Land of the Hittites*, Constable & Co., London, 1910, p. 318.

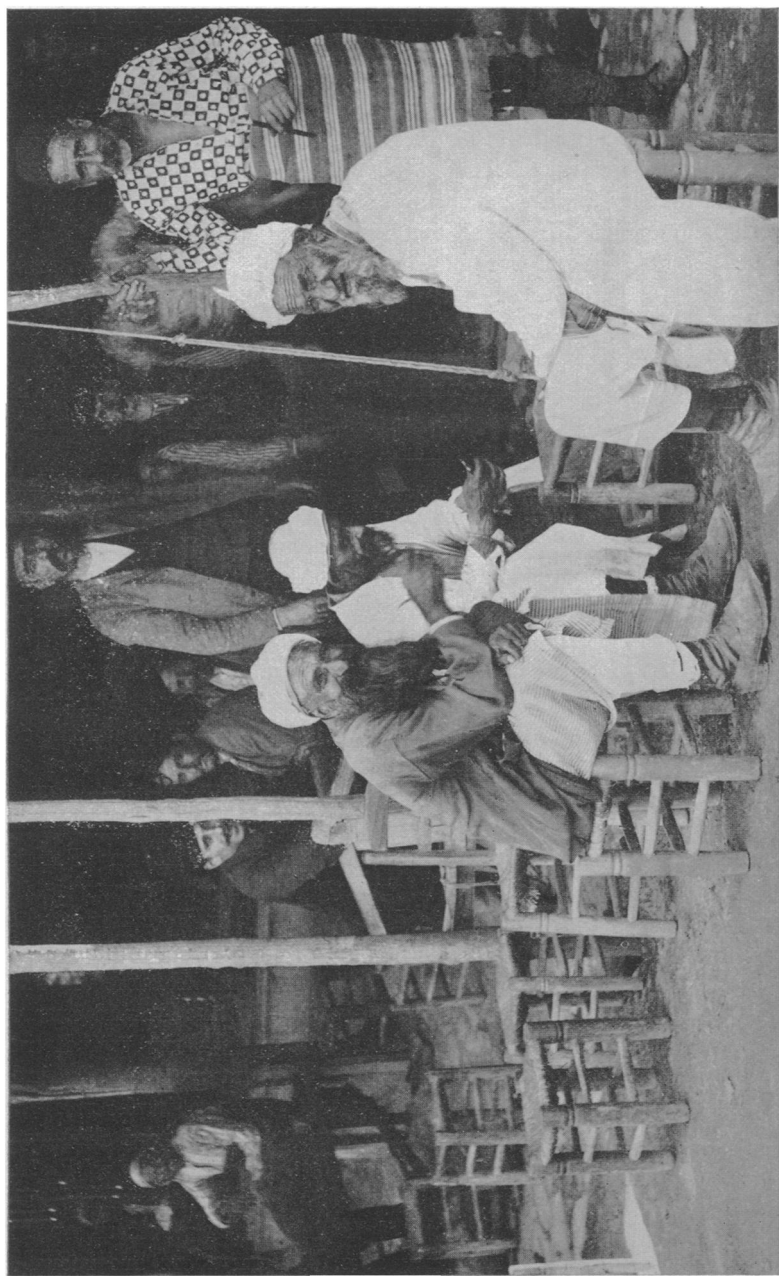


Fig. 1—A group of Turks who have none of the racial traits indicated by their name. The seated members in the foreground are typical inhabitants of the Anatolian plateau. The Greek type, closely resembling the Italian, appears in the background.

by the mingling with Mediterranean, Armenoid-Alpine and even Nordic elements. Except in a few isolated instances, the Turki type of Central Asia is rarely met within Turkish boundaries. Clearly no valid claim to racial distinctiveness can be set up by the Turks.

In religion the Turk is no innovator. He has merely taken unto himself the idealism of Arabia. And yet his efficient wield of the fine edge of Mohammedan fanaticism failed to sever the ties which bind Islam to this land. Even his language is not his own. The splendor of Arabian syntax and the supple elegance of Persian style alone confer literary flavor upon it. Over 70 per cent. of the words in any Turkish daily are Arabic retained in unalloyed purity. A scant sprinkling of Tatar words merely recalls by their sound the raucous articulations which form the nomad's speech, while their paucity is a true measure of the limited range of concepts which find lodgment in his mind.

Turkish nationality is equally meaningless. The descendants of Asiatic nomads became masters of Western Asia without ever conferring the boon of government or of nationality upon the land and its peoples. In Gibbon's mordant language "the camp and not the soil is the country of the genuine Tatar." And Turkey is still a vast field in which the Turk has pitched his tent, waiting, knowing, that the day is not far off when he will have to break camp and seek new pasturages for his herds and flocks. But the site on which he has settled for the past five centuries had been the seat of a highly organized government. Seeing himself master of this estate the Turk unhesitatingly adopted its institutions. Thus, under the mantle of Islamic theocracy, Byzantine government and customs have continued to flourish in Ottoman dominions. Barring special features belonging to Mohammedanism, the ceremonials of the Sultan's court may be traced step by step to Byzantine forms. The very absolutism of the caliphs is alien to the fundamentally democratic character of both Tatar societies and Koranic teaching. It is Byzantine and a relic of the despotism of the Roman cæsars.

In speaking of the Turks it is necessary to carry two distinct types in mind. The pure Tatar vagrant, true to his native indolence, which fits him ill for sedentary occupation, is in the minority. The mass of the Turkish population consists of a mixed element in which the racial strain of given localities persists along with characteristics imparted by fusion with Turki conquerors. This mingling is indicated further by the spirit which moves this people in the performance of its daily acts. Its members are recruited

among the plodding, gentle-mannered and kind-hearted peasants of the land. Local influence accounts for these qualities. Occasionally, however, the foreign streak will crop out. Then, like their nomad ancestors, who, from peaceful shepherds roaming leisurely from patch to patch of green, are transformed into fiends incarnate by the approach of a thief or a beast of prey, or whom a passing storm will throw into fits of uncontrollable rage which vents itself in passionate outbursts of shrieking and gesticulation, the Turkish peasants can cast their natural softness of character to the winds at a moment's notice and become either bloodthirsty murderers smiting at unarmed Christians or else heroes performing gallant deeds on the battlefield.

The majority of this Turkish population finds a congenial home on the Anatolian upland. Their ancestors beheld here an environment in which the physical characteristics of the plateaus of Central Asia were reproduced. They took to it naturally. The tableland presents the appearance of a rolling expanse mournfully devoid of vegetation, save for rare clusters of trees of stunted growth. Scanty plots of grass surrounding sickly pools or streams bear apt likeness to the holes of a ragged garment spread over its surface. Sun-baked in summer, chilled in winter, with a climate too deficient in moisture for the favorable development of human societies, the land could only appeal to Asiatic sons of semi-arid areas. In recent years, the tendency of Turks to retire to this region is observable wherever the industry of Christian populations of the encircling coastland has rendered life too arduous for Turkish love of ease.

The penetration of this tableland by nomads from the heart of Asia goes on today as in the past, albeit with abated intensity. It is no rare occurrence in Asia Minor to meet Tatars or Turkomans who have been on a slow westerly go for periods of from five to ten years at a time. Most of them come from the Kirghiz steppes. Centuries of nomadism are silhouetted against the sky-line at the sight of these wanderers moving gently over the plateau. A vague desire to change their residence from a Christian to a Mohammedan country impels their wanderings, according to their own accounts. Constantinople looms as an objective nebulously impressed in their minds. But the goal is rarely attained. In reality their migration is as unconscious as that of their forefathers and merely carries them out of sheer necessity from pasturage to pasturage in the manner it affected former generations.

## MOHAMMEDAN IMMIGRANTS

Ever since the establishment of Turkish authority in Western Asia, the policy of the Sultan's officials has been directed towards attracting Mohammedan settlers from foreign countries to the unpopulated districts of Turkey. Particularly at the end of unsuccessful wars, special efforts are made to induce Moslem inhabitants of lost provinces to return within Turkish boundaries, where land often exempt from taxation is assigned to them. Widely distributed Circassian, Tatar and Turkoman settlements owe their origin to this Turkish method of increasing the Mohammedan element in the country. The Bithynian Peninsula, where Cretaceous limestones and sandy Eocene beds provide excellent soils, is a region favored by immigrants.

Russia's southwesterly spread of empire is responsible for the movement of some 500,000 Circassians from the Caucasus highlands to Asiatic Turkey. Lithe of figure, brilliant-eyed and nimble in mind, these emigrants are morally and physically far superior to their new countrymen. They bring with them the higher standard of living of their native land. Their dwellings are more solidly built than the customary shanties or hovels of the Anatolian tableland, and their food is of the average European quality. Wherever settled they live in a degree of comfort unknown to the Turkish peasant. Flourishing farming communities have grown around their villages. In cities they are distinguished by a natural aptitude for commerce, and many an able government official has been recruited from their numbers.

In race, language and religion the Circassians of Turkey present, according to tribal origin, the confusion existing in their cradle land. The Kabardian group of the Uzun Yaila are of Western Caucasus extraction and speak an incorporative language. The Chechen settled in Syria are derived from Daghestani highlanders. In some cases Circassians bear Christian names, but worship in mosques. Representatives of Central Asiatic Indo-European and even Semitic races are found among them.

A colony of Noghai Tatar refugees was founded in the lower Jeihun valley after the Crimean War, at which time it consisted of some 60,000 individuals. Their numbers were speedily reduced, however, by the malaria and fevers of the unhealthful Cilician coastland. A decimated remnant is now engaged in farming the marshy lands originally bestowed on their fathers. They maintain excellent relations with the Turks, with whom they intermarry.



The Turkomans of Asia Minor are, according to their statements, refugees from Moscovite Christianity. In reality they seek escape from Russian pressure exerted to force them to abandon nomadism. This name is applied generally to immigrants coming from Turkestan who have preserved their roving habits. The cruel Turki type of lineament and expression is observable on their faces. They are Sunnis, or orthodox Mohammedans, and a Turkish-speaking people, but have little intercourse with native Turks.

The Karapapaks, or Black Caps, known also by the name of Terekimans, are Shiites, or adherents of the eastern branch of Mohammedanism, from Russian Armenia, who have crossed the Turkish frontier and settled near Patnoz in the Van vilayet. The original seat of this people is located between Chaldir and Daghestan. Racially they are of Turki stock. Tatar types predominate among them, although Circassian and Persian physiognomies are by no means uncommon.

The Lazis of northeasternmost Turkey, who are sometimes known by the name Tehan, form the connecting link between the Caucasian and Anatolian populations. Many of them have forsaken their Russian homes in the past thirty years for the land of their kinsmen on the Turkish side of the frontier. They occupy, in fairly dense communities, villages nestling on the forested seaward slopes of the Pontic Alps as well as the narrow strip of coast east of Platana. Former generations considered them as pirates or brigands. They now follow less irregular pursuits, but still bear the reputation of being daring smugglers. The Turkish navy recruits sailors from among them.

By race the Lazis are allied to the Georgian group of Caucasus peoples, and their intermixture with ancient Armenian populations is probable. They speak a southern dialect of the Grusinian language closely allied to Mingrelian but mingled with Greek and Turkish words. In some localities Turkish replaces their vernacular entirely. Their adherence to Mohammedanism is noted for its laxity.<sup>11</sup>

#### MOHAMMEDAN DISSENTERS

A number of communities whose origin is wrapped in obscurity are found off well-beaten avenues on the Anatolian tableland. A mild, temperate lot, broad-shouldered and open-faced, they have

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<sup>11</sup> Many Moslem immigrants from Eastern Europe are also found in Asia Minor. Bosnians, Albanians, Pomaks and in general representatives of every Mohammedan community in the Balkans prefer sometimes to settle in Asia Minor.

much in common, in spite of diversity of worship and separation. Racially they present few of the Turki features. Their speech is usually Turkish, but they keep rigidly apart from the Turks. They are Mohammedans in name only. Having secured immunity from the fanaticism of the masters of the land they have secretly maintained ancestral beliefs to the full extent of primitive ignorance and seclusion. When the light of ethnographic research shall have been fully shed on their rites, it is likely that the transition of religious thought from the paganism of Hellenic times to the Christianity of the Byzantine era will be revealed.

To this group belong the inhospitable Tahtajis (known also as Chepmi and in their westernmost extension in the Aidin vilayet as Allevis), the woodcutters of the upper recesses of the Lycian mountains. A people slightly altered from primitive manners, they form a community of about 5,000 souls. Eastern and Western culture swept by their mountain homes, leaving the faintest of traces among them. Having neither priests nor churches they are held in disrepute by the Turks. Similarity with Eastern religions can nevertheless be traced in their worship. They wail over the corpses of their dead as do the Egyptians. A vague connection with the Iranian ideals is discernible in the belief they hold regarding the incarnation of the devil in the form of a peacock. They cannot be induced to discuss their rites with strangers. Faith is their all, in their simple minds, and well accentuates the separatist tendency determined by their rugged mountains.

A more important group, the Kizilbash, present unmistakable racial characteristics peculiar to the Anatolian mountains over which their settlements are dispersed. The name is pure Turkish for "red head," but cannot be traced to appearance or head-gear in Turkey. In Persia, however, allied communities are known whose members wear scarlet caps.<sup>12</sup> The bend of the Yeshil Irmak<sup>13</sup> and the highlands extending from the Taurus to upper Mesopotamia contain their villages.<sup>14</sup>

A Turkish-speaking people of peaceful habits, engaged exclusively in the tillage of their lands, submissive to authority, frugal and industrious, such are the Kizilbash in the midst of their Turk-

<sup>12</sup> It is not at all unlikely that the Turkish Shias, forcibly transplanted from Persia by the Sultans during the wars with that country, settled among ancient Anatolian communities, to which they brought the name of Kizilbash.

<sup>13</sup> R. Leonhard: Paphlagonia, D. Reimer, Berlin, 1915, pp. 359-373; J. W. Crowfoot: Survivals among the Kappadokian Kizilbash (Bektash), *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. 30, 1900, pp. 305-320.

<sup>14</sup> The distribution of Kizilbash villages in the Yeshil Irmak valley is shown in G. de Jerphanion's *Carte du Bassin Moyen du Yéhil Irmak*, 1:200,000, Barrère, Paris, 1914.

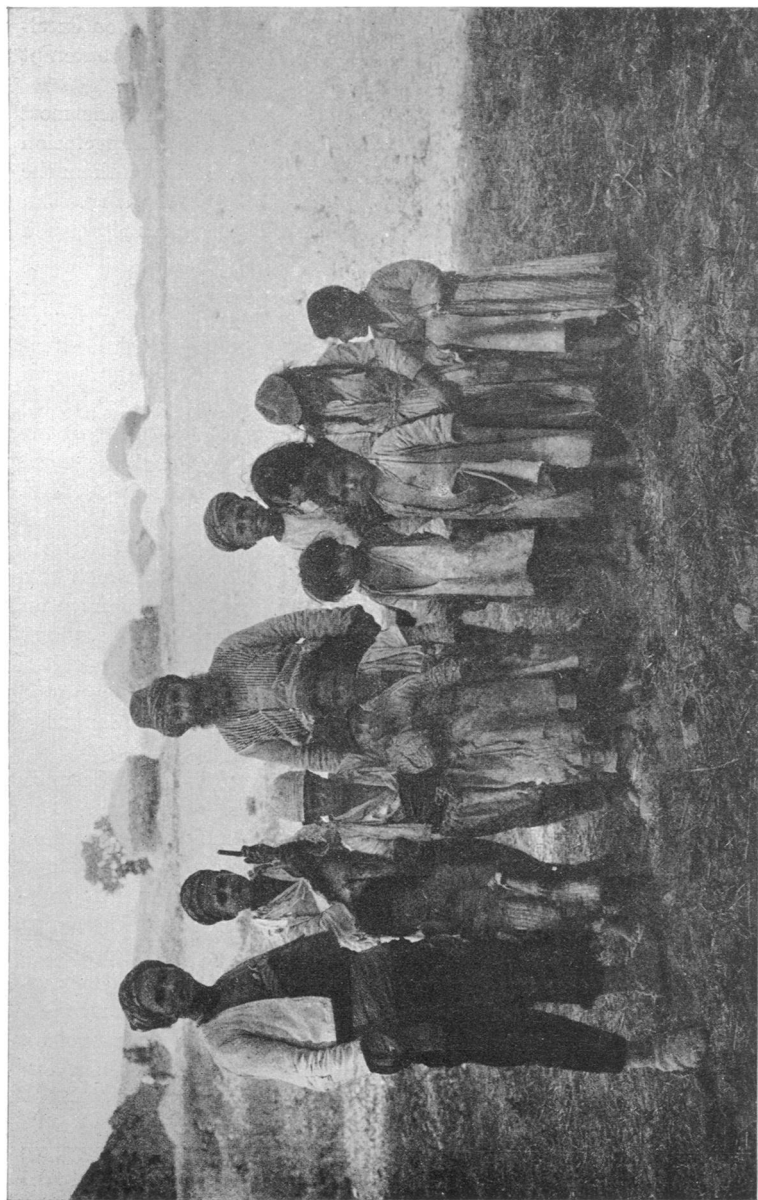


FIG. 2.—Kizilbash, budding and in their prime. A people who still adhere to exceedingly ancient customs and worship. (Reproduced from Leonard's *Paphlagonia* by courtesy of Messrs. D. Reimer Berlin.)

ish, Kurdish and Armenian neighbors. They are usually on excellent terms with the Christians. The Turks hold them in contempt on account of religious divergences.

In religious thought, the Kizilbash may be classed as the most liberal among the Mohammedans of Turkey. Their interpretation of the Koran exempts them from keeping fasts and allows them the use of wine. They allow their women to go about with a freedom which has never been tolerated among Sunnis. Christian rites, such as the custom of praying over bread and wine, are performed among them. Fragmentary survivals of pagan observances likewise form part of their worship.

The Kizilbash are closely affiliated with the Bektash confraternity, a once powerful Islamic organization which still owns a large number of convents (*tekkes*) and churches in Turkey. Indiscriminate use of the two names has led to much confusion in the writings of travelers.<sup>15</sup> It seems preferable to restrict the name of Kizilbash to the group of Anatolian people whose mountain origin is amply proven by somatic traits and whose cultural development denotes amalgamation with invaders of the tableland. The term Bektash can then be applied to the form of religion to which this people adheres at present. The connection is probably founded on the ease with which Bektash proselytism drew recruits from among Kizilbash populations. In the light of this distinction the so-called Bektash people of the Lycian mountains are merely a sub-group of the Kizilbash, to whom they are related in part by race, language and religion.

The Balikis, or Belekis, living on the southern fringe of Sasun,<sup>16</sup> are probably also a remnant of the old highland population. The Mohammedanism they profess is tainted with dim reminiscences of Christian worship and was probably adopted as a self-preservatory measure. Religious beliefs weigh lightly, however, on this community. Its members possess neither church nor mosque wherein to congregate. A term of residence among them would probably enable an observer to discover survival of very ancient customs. The passing traveler can do little more than note the unusual freedom with which their women go about unveiled or be attracted by the mixture of Arabic, Kurdish and Armenian words in their language.

The Avshars, descended from Persian immigrants mingled with

<sup>15</sup> The Turks themselves apply the name of Kizilbash in loose fashion. They designate by it among others the Shabbakhs and Bejvans, who live near Mosul and whose religion contains curious mixtures of Christian and Mohammedan beliefs.

<sup>16</sup> H. F. B. Lynch : *Armenia*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1901, Vol. ii, p. 430

native hill populations, are settled mainly on the eastern slopes of the Anti-Taurus facing the northern end of the Binbogha range.<sup>17</sup> The two elements which are blended in this people are also represented in their religion. The newcomers brought Shiite Mohammedanism and ensured the predominance of their views over the relics of the nature cults of the aboriginal groups. By speech, customs or occupation the community differs in no respect from neighboring Turks.

The nomad element of the Anatolian plateau is represented mainly by the Yuruks, whose wanderings range from the northern landward slopes of the Cilician Taurus to the mountainous tract surrounding Mt. Olympus. Roving over barren districts, the members of this group are true half-starved human products bred in areas of defective food supply. The men know no other occupation than that of tending their sheep and horses. The women are noted carpet weavers. Strangers passing within sight of their tent settlements can generally rely on finding the nomad's proverbial hospitality under their felt roofs.

In common with kindred plateau communities, the Yuruks hold severely aloof from the Turks. But they have adopted Turkish speech, and it is gradually replacing their ancient vernacular. They have sometimes been connected with European gypsies, although the little that is known concerning their history and traditions hardly warrants such an assumption. A promising field for ethnographic research still awaits exploitation among their settlements. They call themselves Mohammedans and circumcise, but have no priests or churches.<sup>18</sup>

The Aptals of the lofty valleys of northern Syria also have nomadic habits and appear to be closely related to the gypsies. Although they claim to be Sunnis they rarely intermarry with settled Mohammedans. Their roaming life carries them from village to village, generally in the capacity of musicians and entertainers. According to their traditions they were expelled from the Lower Tigris regions in the ninth century.<sup>19</sup>

#### ARMENIANS

The tableland on which Armenian life unfolded itself was faulted into blocks and covered by flows of huge volcanoes after the Miocene. Pontic ranges fringe it on the north and thereby forbid access to the

<sup>17</sup> Earl Percy: *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey*, Arnold, London, 1901, pp. 89-90.

<sup>18</sup> C. Wilson: *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, Murray, London, 1911, p. 68.

<sup>19</sup> The gypsies of Syria are known by the name of Nawar, or Zotts.

Black Sea.<sup>20</sup> On the south the folds of the Anti-Taurus Mountains likewise act as successive barriers. But no mountain obstacles intervene to the east or west of Armenia. Close racial, linguistic and historical relations can hence be traced between Armenians and Persians today. Furthermore, the existence of important Armenian communities scattered all the way west of Armenia to the coasts of the Ægean becomes intelligible. The very crowning of Armenians as Byzantine emperors may ultimately be explained by this east-west extension of relief in Western Asia.

The heart of the Armenian plateau is found in the gently folded limestones and lacustrine deposits surrounding Lake Van. Here an elevated plain relieves the ruggedness of environing peaks. Here, too, our earliest knowledge of Armenian history is centered. But the formation of nationality upon the surrounding sites of intricate relief was a long-drawn process. A highland dissected into numerous valleys, each of which represented human-tight compartments, could not become the seat of a united people. The region, being broken up, favored division. Accordingly, feudalism flourished undisturbed throughout its extent. Each valley or habitable stretch was governed by its own princeling. These petty chiefs relied on the security provided by their rugged environment and were naturally disinclined to acknowledge authority emanating from outside their valley homes.

The plain of Van has always loomed large in the history of Armenia.<sup>21</sup> This interesting depression occupies the southeastern corner of the great central plateau and lies surrounded by volcanoes which were centers of lively eruptive activity during the Pleistocene. Together with the plain of Mush it forms a single basin which was once a lake bed. The heavily saline waters of Lake Van still cover its deepest section. The exposed lake bottom consists of volcanic matter carrying fertilizers in abundance. Rich brown loams therefore contribute to the region's famed fertility. Between the tenth and ninth centuries B. C. the Vannic community became the nucleus of a confederacy of mountain tribes forming the kingdom of Urartu,<sup>22</sup> which extended to the heads of the valleys debouching on

<sup>20</sup> Cf. inset on accompanying map entitled "Part of Asiatic Turkey showing Distribution of Peoples."

<sup>21</sup> As these lines are written (Aug., 1915) accounts of the expulsion of Turks from the plain of Van by the Armenians filter through the press news.

<sup>22</sup> The Mexican parallel is too striking to be omitted here. The southern end of the plateau of Anahuac, on which the waters of Lake Texcoco receded within historical times, is the center of the stage of Mexican history. Surrounding this open land numerous narrow valleys were peopled by independent tribes which eventually banded together under the leadership of the community growing near the central body of water. This lake confederacy became Cortez' most powerful opponent when the conquistadores undertook their memorable expedition. Cf. F. J. Payne: *History of the New World Called America*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899, pp. 450-463.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIG. 3—An Armenian priest. Facially the Armenians resemble the inhabitants of Central Europe.  
 FIG. 4—Types of Mohammedan immigrants. The three men in this photograph are Albanians.



FIG. 5.—View of the plain of Van. The photograph shows the three features which make the site a center of Armenian history. The plain afforded farming land and was dominated by a lone eminence, to the protection of which Armenians have resorted to this very day. The broad lake in the background added to the natural strength of this position.



Assyrian territory.<sup>23</sup> After successful resistance against Assyria the independence of the Armenian state became well established about 800 B. C.

The ancient history of the Armenians is closely related to that of the Hittites. The appearance of the former is coeval with the disappearance of the latter. The probability of a common origin is strong. Enough light has been shed on the history of the Armenian tableland prior to 700 B. C. to enable us to divide its political subdivisions into two great groups. The Vannic states of the kingdom of Urartu held sway in the northern ranges. Hittite dominance extended in the southern group of mountains. It may be assumed that the Armenians of the present day are direct descendants of these ancient populations, due allowance being made for the invasion of Iranian peoples who brought Eastern culture to the land. The free inflow of this Eastern element was impeded, however, by the highly dissected tableland of Armenia. It trickled westward without ever assuming the proportion of a flood. Hence the Armenian physical type is preserved with considerable purity beneath the shroud of Aryan culture.

The Armenians call themselves Hai and trace their descent to a mythical mountain chief Haik. Hai-istan is the name of their native land in Armenian. The word Armenia itself is of Persian derivation and foreign to Armenian. A remote possibility of the connection of Hai with the old name of Hit or Hatti may be advanced in view of the frequency with which the elision of the letter *t* or the replacement of *d-t* sounds by *y* occur in Armenian.<sup>24</sup> The etymology of the name, however, still awaits more thorough elucidation.

Planted squarely on the scene of the secular conflict between the civilizations of Europe and Asia, Armenia became in time the prey of the victor of the moment. But the united influence of site and configuration asserted itself more than once during this long struggle to confer independence on the Armenians. As a buffer between Eastern and Western empires the country enjoyed three distinct periods of native rule prior to the Ottoman conquest.

Throughout the course of these vicissitudes, Armenian life centered mainly around its mountain home. Nevertheless, altitude alone does not suffice to explain the characteristics of the people. Climate must also be taken into account. Armenians are distributed

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<sup>23</sup> D. G. Hogarth : *The Ancient East*, Holt, New York, 1914, p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> Notably *t* is entirely eliminated from the third person singular of verbs.

in a belt extending one degree on either side of the line of south latitude 39°. Within this zone the products of the soil as well as the customs are those of temperate regions bordering on the warm. The narrow highland valleys are wonderfully fertile. Wheat is harvested before July at an elevation of 3,600 feet in many districts. The country enjoys fame for the variety and excellence of its fruits.

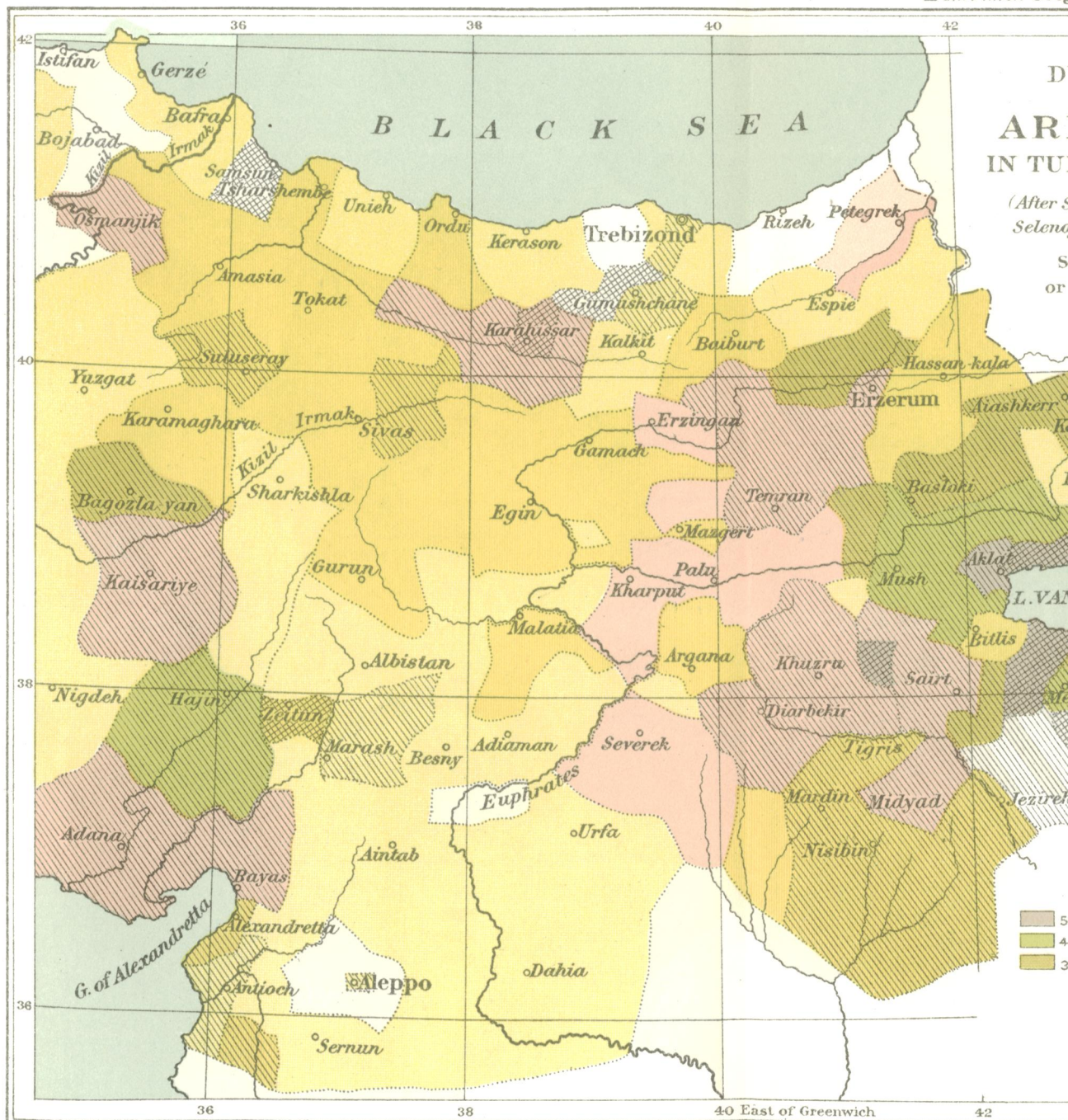
Little wonder, then, that traits which distinguish populations reared in sunny lands should also prevail among the dwellers of this rugged mountain zone. Voluble in the extreme, endowed with a highly developed imaginative sense, delighting in an innate tendency to aggrandize and magnify the facts of ordinary life, the Armenian is merely an Eastern counterpart of the celebrated Tarasconese created by Daudet's genial fancy as the type of southerner.

But a rocky environment is equally reflected in the minds of the Armenians. Harshness of manner and a certain degree of uncouthness are present along with tenacity of purpose and moral fortitude, which are national traits. Through the latter, endurance of Turkish persecution, which has generally assumed exceedingly savage form, was made possible. Armenians are also known for their martial spirit. Dwellers of many of the less accessible recesses of the Tauric or Armenian highlands have held their Turkish foes in check for centuries and have managed to maintain a state of semi-independence in the midst of their conqueror's land.

Again, the influence of the mountain home of the Armenians is expressed in their art. Poems and songs often extol the fairness of the valleys where rest will be found after descent along interminable slopes. Sometimes the beauty of lakes, embosomed in high plateaus, fires the poet's fancy. Towering summits figure in legend as steeples from which melodious chimes cast forth their tones. Armenian music, too, resounds with echoes that seem to reverberate from valleys cut deep in the sides of their mountains.

Perhaps it is these varied influences which convert the rough and mannerless mountain boors into the most polished and cultured citizens of Turkish cities. They have the reputation of being energetic business men. Their honesty is proverbial among the Turks, who generally intrust the management of estates or domains to their hands. Western progress finds receptive minds among them alone throughout the inland districts of Asiatic Turkey.

The size of the Armenian population of Asiatic Turkey has never been accurately determined. The notorious inaccuracy of Turkish statistics renders them altogether unreliable. Furthermore the







boundaries of Turkish administrative provinces have been drawn with the sole view of creating groupings in which the Mohammedan element would predominate in every instance. The estimate of 2,100,000 Armenians for Asiatic Turkey given by so reputable a source as Major-General Sir Charles Wilson<sup>25</sup> is undoubtedly high. Cuinet's figures given by Selenoy and Seidlitz<sup>26</sup> probably come nearer the truth. The wholesale slaughter of Armenian males which has been systematically conducted by the Turks for the past twenty years, added to emigration, renders the existence of over 1,000,000 Armenians in Asiatic Turkey at present as highly improbable, and the only districts of any size in which they constitute a majority in the population are found west of Nimrud Dagħ in the plains surrounding Mush as well as in the Kozan district north of the Cilician plains.<sup>27</sup>

### KURDS

An Alpine zone of transition connecting the plains of northern Mesopotamia with the surrounding mountains on the north and east became the homeland of the Kurds. In a broad sense it is the drainage area of the Tigris and Euphrates. It is also the site of important mountain gaps through which human movements from east to west or vice versa have proceeded. Before the consolidation of Turkish authority in this region, a matter of less than a century ago and still in an imperfect stage of completion, Kurdish clans, each under the sole leadership of their respective chieftains, controlled the passes through which traffic from the southern lowlands or the eastern plateau was directed towards the Anatolian tableland. They exacted heavy tolls from passing caravans and derived their chief source of revenue from these levies.

Their manner of living conforms with the intermediary character

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<sup>25</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, Murray, London, 1911, p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> *Petermanns Mitt.*, Vol. 42, Jan. 1896, p. 8; and for details V. Cuinet: *La Turquie d'Asie*, Vols. i-iv, Leroux, Paris, 1891-94.

<sup>27</sup> The Armenian population of Turkey is divided by creed into three distinct communities. The vast majority—probably about ninety per cent.—belong to the Gregorian sect of Christianity. Adherents of the Roman Catholic faith are found chiefly in western Asia Minor. Protestant congregations have sprung around the educational institutions maintained by British or American missionary societies. Let it be noted here that many Mohammedan communities in Armenia consist of Armenoid individuals whose membership in the fold of Islam is the result of forcible conversions since the rise of Ottoman power. The Dersimlis, who inhabit the region between the two main branches of the Euphrates, have the reputation of being crypto-Christians of Armenian blood. Moslems of Armenian origin are also known in the village of Karageben on the Tehalta River east of Divrik. In Russia the Armenians number a scant million souls. Half of this community is scattered in the valley of the Arax and in Erivan province.

of their habitat. The semi-nomads of the plains and southern hills seek cool uplands during the summer months. In winter they descend to the warm plains with their flocks and herds and mingle with their Arab neighbors. Their instinct for seasonal migrations has been developed to such an extent that they cannot refrain from maintaining their semi-annual movements in the Armenian districts to which they have been forcibly removed by the Turkish government, desirous of insuring Mohammedan predominance in the Christian valleys of Armenia.

Language and religion carry the Kurds back to eastern ancestry. However diverse their dialects, Aryan roots forming the framework of their speech have survived in spite of admixture of Armenian, Turkish and Arabian words. By creed they are generally upholders of Shiite tradition in its westernmost confines. But their religious views vary from tribe to tribe and present as composite a character as their race. Many are Sunnis. Wandering into eastern Asia Minor since hoary antiquity they have culled from Paganism, Christianity and Islamism alike. The predominance of the ideals which inspire these faiths among the individual clans probably affords a clue to the period of their arrival in the localities which they now inhabit.

Similarly, the racial relations of the Kurds with peoples found east of their land is well established.<sup>28</sup> They are undoubtedly a branch of the Indo-European family though perhaps not to the extent to which von Luschan would connect them with inhabitants of northern Europe. From the writer's own observations the "generally blue eyes and fair hair" are by no means dominant in the regiments of Hamidyeh cavalry recruited exclusively from among Kurdish tribesmen.<sup>29</sup> The three groups studied by the eminent anthropologist near Karakush, on the Nimrud mountain, and at Sinjirli were probably remarkably pure, as might be inferred from the nature of their secluded districts. As early invaders of a transition land the Kurds have intermingled extensively with both highland and lowland populations.<sup>30</sup> The Kurd varies hence according to region, the inhabitants of the elevated sections being stocky and of massive build, while the tall and sallow Semitic type appears among them on the border of the southern plains.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> F. von Luschan: The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia, *Ann. Report Smithsonian Inst. for 1914*, pp. 561-562.

<sup>29</sup> "Rarely of unusual stature . . . , complexion dark" is Wilson's description. *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, Murray, London, 1911, p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Sykes: The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. 38, 1908, pp. 451-486.

<sup>31</sup> B. Dickson: Journeys in Kurdistan, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 35, No. 4, April 1910, p. 361.

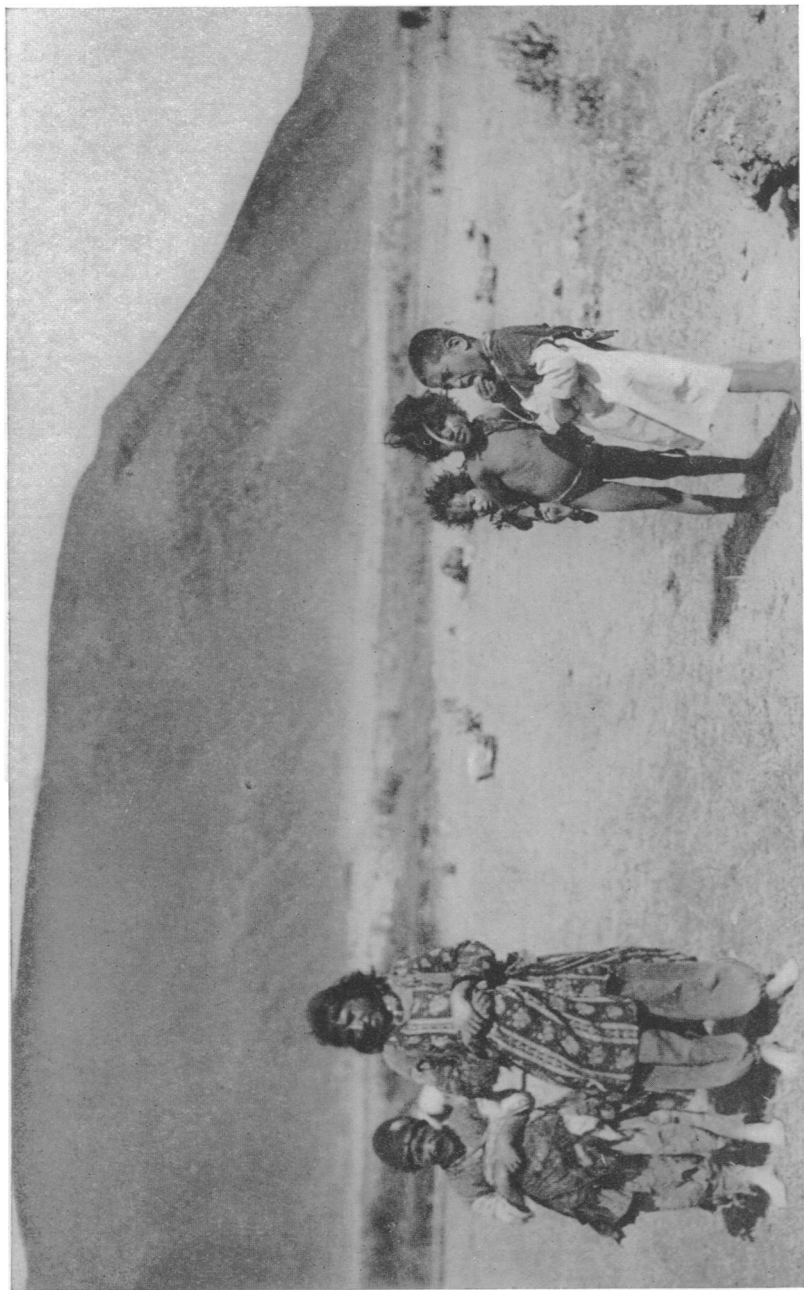


FIG. 6—Kurd children of the Armenian borderland. The poverty of the land is reflected in their appearance no less than in the arid background of the photograph.

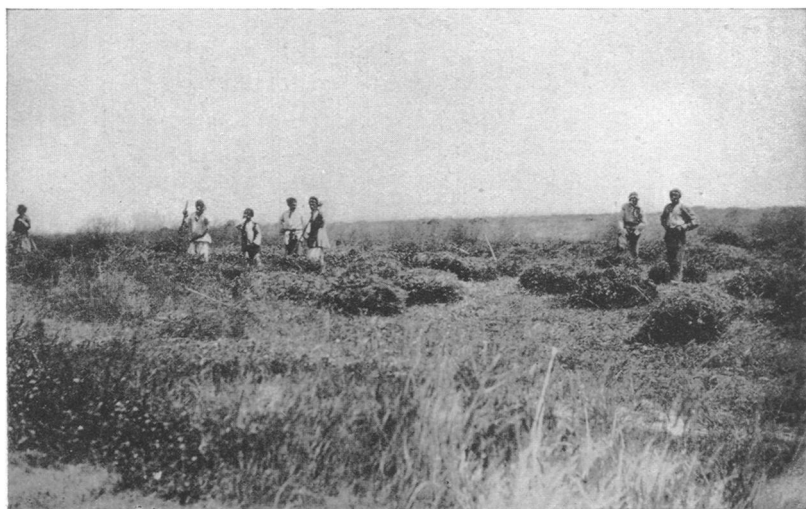


FIG. 7.

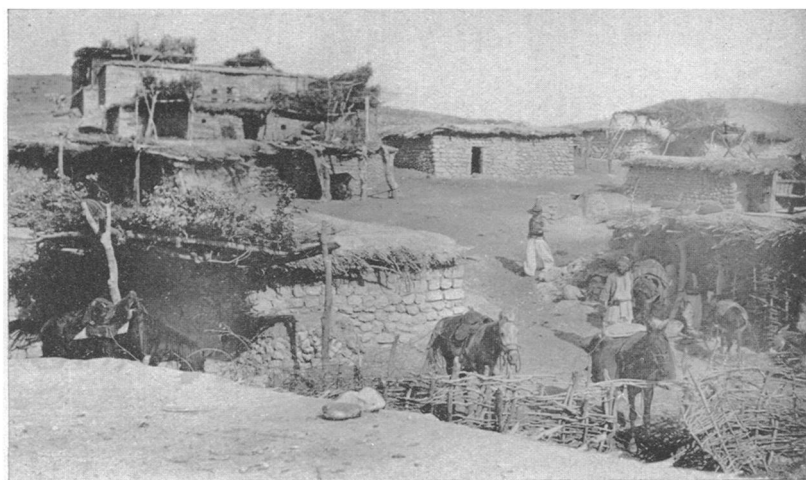


FIG. 8.

FIG. 7—Kurds at harvest in Upper Mesopotamia.

FIG. 8—Kurd village in southern Kurdistan.



The Kurds, particularly in the semi-nomadic state, are noted freebooters. Travel in the districts they occupy is generally unsafe. Armenians and other Christians find them an inexorable foe. They are none too loath to prey even on Turks, although as a rule the latter obtain immunity in return for the lenient dealing of the government in cases of Kurdish depredations on non-Moslem communities. The strong arm of an organized police alone will end the lawlessness with which their name is coupled in Turkey.

Good qualities are not wanting. A Kurd is generally true to his word. The rude code of honor in vogue among their tribes is rarely violated, and, whenever disposed, the Kurd can become as hospitable as his Arab neighbors. The tempering influence of a settled existence among sedentary tribes is marked by harmonious intercourse with surrounding non-Kurdish communities. At bottom their vices are chiefly those of the restless life they lead in a land in which organized government has been unknown for the past eight centuries.

#### SYRIANS

Syria is the elongated land passage, barely fifty miles in width, which connects northern Africa with western Asia. It is one of the world's best-defined natural regions. The sea on the west, and the desert on the east, sharply mark off its fringelike extension. On the north the Amanus ranges constitute a wall that has proved well-nigh impassable to Semites. To the south the land naturally ends in the Sinai Peninsula.<sup>32</sup>

The province is mountainous in its northern half. Its mountains are the monuments that throw light on the utter failure of the cause of human progress in northern Syria. A single redeeming feature, the Orontes River valley, favored foreign contact. Western ideas filtered into the land at its mouth on the Mediterranean, while a blend of Eastern influences, Persian or Arabian, flowed down with its waters. All converged at Antioch, the region's greatest center of life and a true product of the Orontes' lower course. Absence of relief in southern Syria, however, was coupled to a Mediterranean climate and fertile soils. These permitted the development of the flourishing civilizations of antiquity. Herein lies the physical basis of the historical evolution of the Syrian fringe and the explanation of the growth of nations and of world religions in its southern lands.

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<sup>32</sup> De Torcy: *Notes sur la Syrie, La Géogr.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, March 15, 1913, pp. 161-197; No. 6, June 15, 1913, pp. 429-459.

As a land-bridge of early humanity Syria was necessarily the scene of much coming and going at a time when the civilization of the world was largely confined to what is now known as Asiatic Turkey. Its population therefore presents a mixed character. Hittites, Arameans, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks conquered the land in turn and imparted their native customs to its inhabitants. Dwellers of its southern area are now transformed almost beyond the possibility of analysis. The settlements of the elevated and broken northern area, on the other hand, represent very ancient communities.

The mountains of Syria harbor strange denizens in their northern end. In the northern Lebanon many villages of the western slopes are inhabited by the Metaulehs, who are Shiite dissenters and bear unenviable reputation for ignorance and inhospitality.<sup>33</sup> Their own traditions point to Persian or Arabian origins. Religion seems to confirm the former claim. At the same time they are known to the Syrians as a sturdy mountain people. Scattered through the same mountain districts the Ismailyehs, another highland folk who under the name of Assassins enjoyed sinister fame during the Middle Ages, maintain their abode in inaccessible valleys. The epithet which is coupled to their name is an altogether illogical rendering of the Arabic "hasheeshin" and does not convey any worse meaning than that of "hasheesh" fiends.

#### ANSARIYEHS

The Ansariyehs, or Nusariyehs, form an important group among northern Syrians. Their settlements are generally confined to the grassy seaward slopes of the mountains stretching north of the Nahr-el-Kebir towards the Gulf of Alexandretta. They also occupy villages in the plains surrounding Antioch. In recent years they have shown a tendency to abandon their mountain homes for the less arduous life of the plains. Officially they are regarded as Mohammedans and bear Mohammedan names, but the religion which differentiates them from the other inhabitants of northern Syria teaches Christian and Sabeian doctrines alike. It is believed that they still maintain observances of exceedingly ancient nature cults. The fundamental principles of their creed are transmitted by word of mouth and with injunction to secrecy.<sup>34</sup> It is known that their

<sup>33</sup> L. Gaston Leary: *Syria, the Land of Lebanon*, McBride, Nast & Co., New York, 1913, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> R. Dussaud: *Les Nossairis*, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences, Philosophie et Histoire*, Paris, 1900, Vol. 129.

deification of the conception of fertility is couched in highly metaphorical language in which the productivity of the earth and of the human race is extolled. By making proper allowance for the imagery which clothes the wording of their prayers it will probably be found that their religion resolves itself into a relic of the worship of the mother-goddess which was deeply rooted throughout the mountain districts of Asia Minor. Hints of nocturnal orgies accompanying their worship should be taken with a grain of suspicion, as orthodox Mohammedans are prone to advance imputation of this character whenever dissension from the Koran is suspected. In this Mohammedans merely follow the lead of Byzantine Christians in whose eyes the relics of Anatolian paganism were as obnoxious as the heresies of their own times.

The ancestors of the Ansariyehs and other small sectarian groups in northern Syria were closely related to their powerful Hittite neighbors. These peoples all occupy together with the Druzes and Maronites the southern limit of known Hittite monuments.<sup>35</sup> Their land is the frontier zone between Syria, Asia Minor and the Armenian highland. It is studded with ruined strongholds which figured prominently in ancient battle scenes.

#### DRUZES

The southern Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges in the rearland of the Haifa-Beirut coast<sup>36</sup> are inhabited by Druzes. Tribes of this people are met as far southeast as the Hawran volcanic uplift, whither they have steadily emigrated from the Lebanon in the course of the past hundred years and where they have succeeded in dislodging the former Bedouin inhabitants of the region. These Druzes are best known for their warlike disposition. Although numerically inferior to the Christian population of their native districts, their bellicose qualities have earned them predominance in central Syria. In religion they are pure monotheists. Their standard of morality is high. They call themselves Mohammedans but do not maintain mosques and rarely practice polygamy. Orthodox Moslems generally repudiate them on account of the discrepancy between their teachings and the tenets of the Koran. As far as can be determined the doctrines of the Mosaic law, the Gospels, the Koran and Sufi alle-

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<sup>35</sup> J. Garstang: *The Land of the Hittites*, Constable & Co., London, 1910, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>36</sup> About forty towns and villages are held by the Druzes in the southern Lebanon. In the Anti-Lebanon districts they people eighty villages and share possession of about two hundred with their Christian kinsmen, the Maronites.

gories are represented in their creed. Often when with Christians they will not hesitate to assert belief in Christianity. The leaven of Iranian influences which pervades their doctrines estranges them from the surrounding Semitism to the same extent that they are highlanders having little in common with the plainsmen settled around their elevated home. The dominance of this Eastern strain in their thoughts does not, however, necessarily indicate racial migrations. Historical testimony is available to prove that the known form of Druze religion can be traced to the teachings of Hamze, a Persian disciple of Hakem.<sup>37</sup> The case is more probably that of an infiltration of foreign ideals and its retention within a region deprived by its relief from intercourse with the more progressive life of the surrounding lowland.

#### MARONITES

Closely related to the Druzes are their northwestern neighbors, the Maronites, a Christian people who seceded from the Roman church in the great schism that followed the council of Chalcedon in 451 A. D.<sup>38</sup> They form a compact mass settled on the western slopes of the Lebanon Mountains between the valleys of the Nahr-el-Kebir and the Nahr-el-Barid. Mountain isolation and intermarriage maintained remarkable purity of an old type among them. Being better farmers than warriors they have suffered from the oft repeated depredations of their warlike neighbors.<sup>39</sup> Enmity with their Mohammedan neighbors dates from the time of the Crusades when the Maronites had sided with the Christian knights.

#### JEWS

The Jews of Turkey include a small remnant of the captivity settled around Jerusalem and in Mesopotamia.<sup>40</sup> After the destruction of Jerusalem the valley of the Tigris became the most important seat of the Hebrews. Parthian tolerance granted them a par-

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<sup>37</sup> Hakem was a Fatimite caliph of Egypt, who ruled in the early eleventh century. He incurred the hatred of his subjects by causing the incarnation of God in himself to be preached in Cairo by Darasi, his chaplain. Both became so unpopular that they were forced to escape from the capital to the Lebanon, where they succeeded in imposing their doctrines on the mountaineers. The name Druze is believed to be derived from Darasi.

<sup>38</sup> In recent years the Maronites have submitted to the authority of the Vatican. In return certain privileges, such as that of retention of Syriac liturgy have been accorded to them. They constitute a veritable theocracy, all tribal and community affairs being handled by the clergy.

<sup>39</sup> The French military expedition to the Lebanon, undertaken in 1860, was caused by the massacre of over 12,000 Maronites by the Druzes in that year.

<sup>40</sup> This group comprises about 90,000 souls in Syria and 40,000 in Mesopotamia.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

FIG. 9—A family of sedentary Arabs in Mesopotamia.

FIG. 10—Maronite women—the highlanders of Syria. Note their sturdy appearance.

tial autonomy under the authority of a chief chosen from among the descendants of the house of David.<sup>41</sup> This liberal régime ended with the decline in power of the Abbasside caliphs of Bagdad. The Jews were then forced to abandon Chaldea. Many emigrated to Spain. Later, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, they were compelled to flee from Spanish persecution and seek a home again in Turkey. Descendants of these emigrants known as Sephardim are settled in the cities of Asia Minor and Syria. Small colonies of Ashkenazim Jews are also scattered in various Turkish towns. An old colony of a few hundred Samaritans survives in the vicinity of Nablus.

The Jews are an exceedingly composite people and, contrary to popular belief, do not represent as pure a type of the Semitic race as the Bedouin Arabs. Southern Syria was a prey to invaders from every quarter of the compass. It was the clashing ground of Hittite and Nilotic civilizations. From the west, Mediterranean seafaring populations swarmed in since earliest antiquity. At least three great waves of Semitic migrations attained the land prior to the coming of the Arabs. The Jew, therefore, represents the fusion of four distinct races of men. The purity he has retained is that of the fused type. His language alone is Semitic. His physical appearance recalls Hittite traits more prominently than Semitic and this probably accounts for the frequent mistaking of Armenians for Jews in Western Europe and in the United States.

#### ARAMEANS

The Arameans are either direct ancestors of modern Jews or else close congeners of early Hebrews. Both peoples are closely allied. They represent one of the many waves of Semitic humanity which have rolled out of Arabia's highland steppes. A period of settlement in the fertile districts around the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris precedes their spread throughout Mesopotamia and north-eastern Syria. References to their history abound in holy texts, as well in inscriptional remains<sup>42</sup> found throughout Western Asia. The accounts, however, are fragmentary and so far have only allowed partial reconstitution of their history. An Aramean nation or a number of Aramean states undoubtedly existed in the tenth century B. C. This body subsequently acquired considerable power

<sup>41</sup> E. Aubin: *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Colin. Paris, 1908, p. 418.

<sup>42</sup> The Elephantine papyri discovered on the island of Elephantine in southern Egypt between 1903 and 1906 contain Aramaic texts of the utmost historical value.

and founded colonies over all of Mesopotamia and Syria. Damascus and Hamath, both in the latter province, became the greatest centers of Aramean power, thanks to the natural resources of the districts around their sites as well as to their commanding position on important trade routes. It seems established that the vast territory designated by the Assyrians by the name of "Mat Aram," or land of Aram, did not necessarily contain Aramaic populations. It was more probably conquered by Arameans, who imposed their language on the subjugated peoples. Soon after the capture of Damascus by the Assyrians in 732 B. C. the Aramean nation disappears from history. Aramaic, however, survived and was even adopted by the victors.<sup>43</sup> But, in common with other Semitic languages, it could not withstand the advance of Arabic. The only locality in which it is now spoken is found northeast of Damascus in the environs of the villages of Malula, Bakha, and Yubb Adin, where the natives still use a dialect similar to the Palestinian Aramaic spoken thirteen centuries ago. There is reason to believe that this sub-group of Syrians represents today the old Aramean stock in as pure a degree as is consistent with the secular mingling of peoples which has taken place in the region.<sup>44</sup>

#### YEZIDIS

The Sinjar range of hills stretching in a westerly direction from Mosul is the only upland of importance in the Mesopotamian valley. The largest compact mass of Yezidis are domiciled in this hilly country. A minor group occupies the Samaan mountains in Syria.<sup>45</sup>

The appellation of devil worshippers which generally accompanies the name of Yezidi conveys a totally erroneous impression regarding their beliefs. They recognize, in fact, a Benign Deity, the Khode-Qanj, who reigns supreme over creation, but with whom is associated an inferior divine essence, the Malik-i-Tawus, or Peacock King, who is lord of all evil and whom they consider necessary to propitiate in order to avert misfortune. But the ceremonies and sacrifices performed in honor of the subordinate deity do not interfere with the primary worship with which the God of Good is

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<sup>43</sup> O. Procksch: *Die Völker Altpalästinas*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1914, p. 30.

<sup>44</sup> At the end of the pre-Islamic period the region west of the Euphrates to the eastern slopes of the Lebanon Mountains was known to the Arabs as "Beit Arameh," or land of the Arameans.

<sup>45</sup> H. Lammens: *Le massif du Gebal et les Yezidis de Syrie*, *Mélanges Faculté Orient. Univ. Beyrouth*, 1907, pp. 366-407.

revered.<sup>46</sup> This interpretation of divinity bears deep analogy to the Iranian cult which revolves around the central figures of Ormuzd and Ahriman respectively, the Good and Evil Principle. The language of the Yezidis, which is akin to Kurdish, brings added evidence for the Eastern derivation of their culture.

According to their own traditions the Yezidis claim to have come originally from the districts of the lower Euphrates. Certain Sabeian features of their religion indicate intimate contact with Semitic populations. Little is known about the curious tangle of their religious celebration to which strangers are never admitted. Their practice of bowing before the rising sun at dawn is a clear relic of Zoroastrian influence. They also perform rites which have analogy to Christian commemorations. In a land overrun in all directions any particular feature of the views they hold cannot be made to account for their origin. The religion of the moment was imposed by the dominant element over all the peoples of Asiatic Turkey. A given group, hence, merely shows successive strata of religious invasions.

Racially the sturdily built Yezidi is active and hardy. His energy sets him apart from the lithe-limbed and easy-going Arabs. His vigor and fighting blood saved him from the frightful persecutions for which the particularly obnoxious feature of his dual deity was responsible. Byzantine bishops and Arabian *mollahs* in turn reserved the wildest thunder of their intolerance for the Yezidi, execrated beyond all others among heretics and unbelievers. This hatred of the presumed worshipper of the devil has not outlived its time, and a devout Mohammedan will today spit upon the ground and mutter a curse whenever the abhorred name crosses his lips.

The Yezidis enjoy fame as agriculturists who know how to exact good yield from their mountain farms. They live a retired life and rarely allow strangers to travel through the Sinjar range. The modern armament of Turkish expeditions has cowed the present generation into a submission which their fathers would scorn. But they still remain unwilling tax payers who rely on the natural disinclination of Turkish tax collectors to mountain climbing.

#### NESTORIANS

The Nestorians, a Christian sect, are descendants of the followers of Nestorius who seceded from established orthodoxy in the sixth century. They inhabit scattered villages in a region which changes

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<sup>46</sup> W. B. Heard: Notes on Yezidis, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. 41, 1911, pp. 200-219.



from mountain to plain as it extends west of the Persian frontier to the Tigris River, roughly between latitudes 34° and 38°. On the north they rarely venture beyond the Bohtan River. The mountainous tract produces a manly set, who have more than held their own against the martial Kurds. Poverty and dependence mark the lot of the plainsmen in spite of their industry as agriculturists.

To say that the inhabitants of Turkey have religious nationality is perhaps the happiest way of accounting for the presence of large numbers of independent communities owing political allegiance to the Sultan. The bond of faith in the case of the Nestorians is one of remarkable strength, because this community represents the persecuted remnant of the ancient church of Central Asia. Owing to its situation on the very outskirts of early Christianity the church became engaged in propagating the Gospel on a scale exceeded only by the see of Rome in the sixth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> Consciousness of this tradition has not forsaken the Nestorians of the present day. The great influence wielded by their patriarch or religious head, the Mar Shimun, as he is called, is a relic of former authority.

The speech of the Nestorians is a Syriac dialect in which Persian, Arabic and Kurdish words have found place. Religious services are conducted, however, in the uncontaminated language. The Nestorians call themselves Syrians and refuse to recognize any other appellation. Much confusion has arisen in the minds of travelers describing them owing to this fact.

#### CHALDEANS

The Chaldeans are racially akin to the Nestorians, with whom they formed a single religious community prior to the seventeenth century. The hope of obtaining relief from Mohammedan persecution induced an important section of the old community to join the church of Rome at that time. In recent years, however, many have forsaken Roman Catholicism and formed a new sect which is known by the name of New Chaldeans. Protestant communities of this people as well as of Nestorians and Jacobites exist.

#### JACOBITES

The rugged limestone district around Midyad is the home of another mountain people known as the Jacobites. Banded together

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<sup>47</sup> A. P. Stanley: *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1900, p. 58.

by the ties of religion they form a community of husbandmen living aloof from their neighbors of divergent religious views. They are described as of warlike nature and independent spirit. Language also differentiates them from other Ottoman groups, a Syriac dialect differing considerably from Nestorian being in use among them.<sup>47a</sup> In Turabdin they speak an Aramaic dialect known as Turani. The Jacobites are noted for their aptitude for business. The important colony of traders founded in the eighteenth century in the vicinity of Bagdad owes its origin to the desert traffic and the Indian trade by way of Basra.

This folk traces its religious origin to the teachings of Jacobus Baradeus<sup>48</sup>, who, in the middle of the sixth century, traveled through Asia Minor and consolidated scattered groups of Monophysite recusants into a single body. They constituted a large sect during the Middle Ages, but defections, notably in favor of the Roman church, thinned their numbers considerably since then. At present they muster hardly more than 15,000 individuals.

#### SABEANS

We are still in the dark concerning the history of the Sabeans, a people of probably Semitic origin who profess Christianity. They call themselves Mendai and are often known by the name of Christians of St. John. The community is small, numbering hardly 3,000 souls, mostly goldsmiths and boat-builders who ply their trade in the Arab encampments of the Amara and Muntefik sanjaks in the vilayet of Basra. They talk a Semitic dialect and dress like the Arabs, from which they can scarcely be distinguished.

#### ARABS

The Arab folk, sparsely distributed over the Syrian desert and forming the majority of the inhabitants of the featureless downs of Mesopotamia, symbolize the dying wave of the last flood of Semitic invasions. In the sandy waste of their western extension, their tribes, shifting perpetually from seat to seat, like the dunes around which they roam, consist of Bedouin or "tent men." The contribution of these nomads to society is as insignificant as the yield of their unproductive land of wandering. Towards the east, however, where two mighty rivers bring fertility and life to the soil, the genius of

<sup>47a</sup> H. Trotter, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1910, p. 378.

<sup>48</sup> F. J. Bliss: *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, Scribner's, New York, 1912.

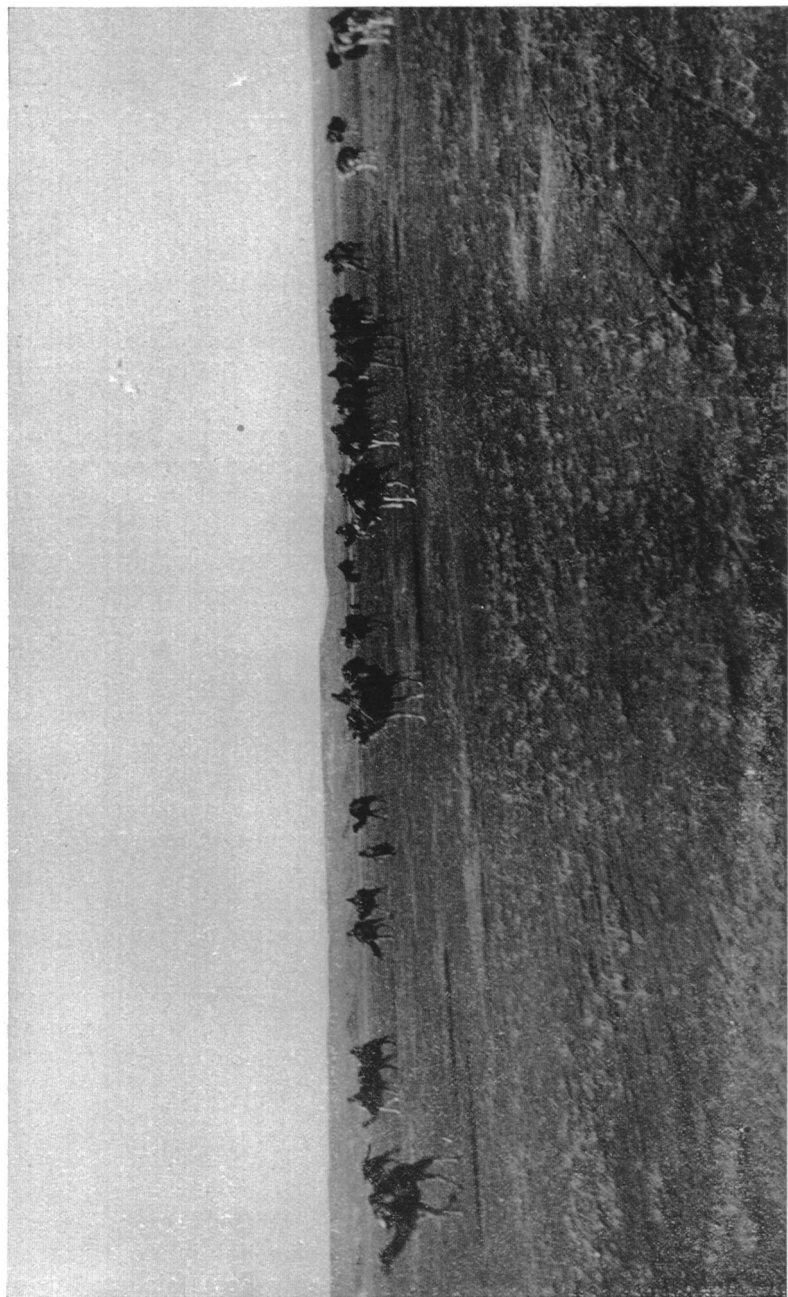


Fig. 11.—In the desert of Syria. A tribe of Anazeh Arabs moving to a new pasturage. A typical view of a migration from an exhausted pasture to a fresh one.

the race blossomed untrammled and gave Mohammedan civilization to the world.

The purest living representative of the Semitic race is found among these Bedouins. The progress of civilization pursued its steady growth around their tent homes without affecting their lives. Better favored belts encircling the Syrian desert attracted the human migrations which took place in Western Asia. From the last outliers of the hill system fringing the southern Taurus to the northern confines of the Arabian peninsula, the patriarchal state of society prevailing today differs little from the condition in which a dreamer well past middle age found it fourteen centuries ago and brought it within the pale of modern thought by inspiring it with the enthusiasm of his own belief in a single God. Stripped of his religion and of his rifle, the Bedouin stands today before the historian as the living image of long remote ancestors whose invasions caused profound upheavals in the societies established east and west of his present tramping ground.

But the Arab settled in the long elongated plain watered by the Tigris and Euphrates can never lay claim to equal purity of stock. He lives in a land which by virtue of a great twin river system gave rise to the oldest civilization known to the world. Its inhabitants, whether aboriginal or invaders from the tableland on the east, derived more than the mere sustenance of necessity within proximity of the mothering watercourses. Surrounded by desert and mountain, this region naturally became a seat of population. Its native element, already much mixed, was assimilated to a large extent by the Arabs since the period of their appearance in Mesopotamia.

The floating masses of Bedouins have successfully resisted Turkish effort to induce them to abandon nomadism. Occasionally, as in the belt of Tauric precipitation or along the borders of the zone of Mediterranean rains no less than under the benign influence of Mesopotamian rivers, they become sedentary. They are then known as *fellaheen*. But the change is incompatible with their immemorial restlessness and implies loss of caste in their own eyes.

#### SUMMARY

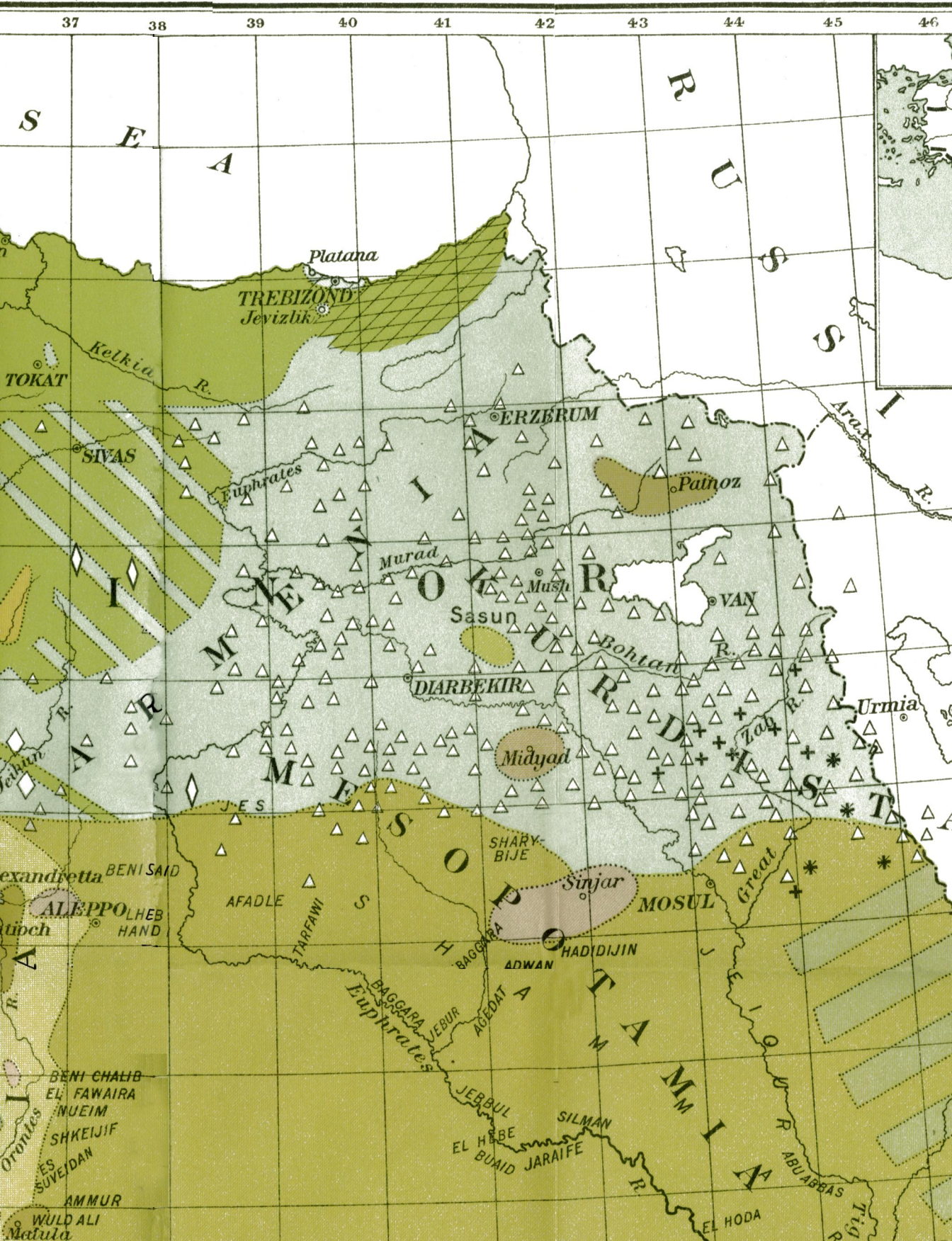
To unravel the hopeless confusion which, at first glance, seems to permeate human grouping in Turkey is largely a problem of geography. The region consists of a mountainous core and a series of marginal lowlands. Its elevated area is a link in the central belt of mountains which extends uninterruptedly from Asia into Europe.



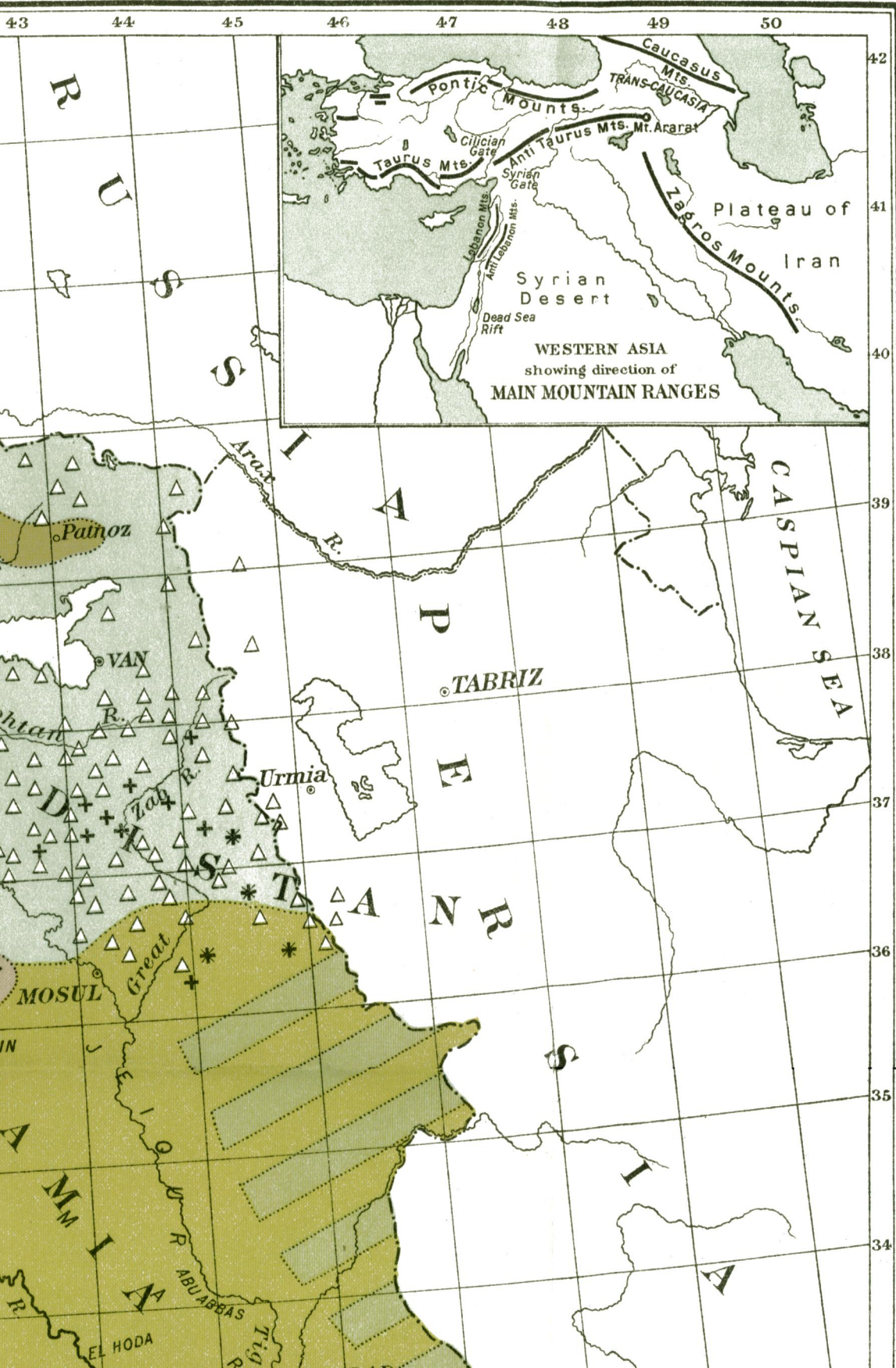




















This long chain of uplifts is the original seat of an important race of highlanders collectively known as *Homo alpinus*.<sup>49</sup> As far as is ascertainable to date the mountaineers of Turkey have all the anatomical characteristics<sup>50</sup> pertaining to this branch of the human family. Their religion and languages may differ but the type remains unchanged. Basing themselves on this physical relation anthropologists have assumed that Asiatic Turkey is the brood home of a subspecies of *Homo alpinus* which is gradually acquiring recognition as a primordial Armenoid element.<sup>51</sup> This type exists in its greatest purity today among the independent Mohammedan communities of the Anatolian tableland as well as among the Druzes and Maronites of Syria.

But by geographical position Asiatic Turkey is the junction of land thoroughfares which trend from south to north as well as in east-west directions. Its aboriginal population came inevitably into contact with the races whose migrations are known to have begun about 4,000 B. C. A second group of peoples is thus obtained in which the old strain is considerably modified. Armenians, Turks, upland Greeks, Jacobites, Nestorians and most of the Kurds represent this mixed element. A third group consists of lowlanders who never made the ascent of Turkish mountains and consequently carry no traces of Hittite ancestry. Maritime Greek populations and Arabs fall under this classification.

In the main we see that the mountain bears in its central part a homogeneous and coherent people. Distance from the core has slight effect upon the physical characteristics of the mountaineers as long as they do not forsake the upland for the lowland. Their ideas, however, undergo modifications which can be interpreted as concessions to the views of more powerful peoples with whom contact is established. Customs, however, generally remain unchanged even if they have to be maintained in secrecy.

Nevertheless, relief alone cannot account for the variety of peoples and religions in Asiatic Turkey. The easternmost fringe of Christianity emerging sporadically out of an ocean of Mohammedanism discloses by the variety of its discordant elements the extent to which distance from Constantinople, the religious capital of the Eastern church, had weakened the power of ecclesiastical authority. Armenians, Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites and Maron-

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<sup>49</sup> J. L. Myers: The Alpine Races in Europe, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 1906, pp. 537-553.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. p. 837.

<sup>51</sup> F. von Luschan: The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia, *Ann. Report Smithsonian Inst.*, for 1914, p. 577.

ites, one and all heretics in the eyes of Orthodox prelates, were merely independent thinkers who relied on the remoteness of their native districts in order to protest without peril to themselves against the innovations of Byzantine theologians or to stand firm on the basis of the rites and doctrines of early Christianity.

From the social standpoint the eastern half of Asiatic Turkey deserves investigation as the seat of an immemorial conflict between nomadism and sedentary life. Every stage of the transition between the two conditions may be observed. The feuds which set community against community in Turkey often originate in the divergent interests of nomad and settled inhabitant. Underlying them all the play of economic factors is constantly at work. As an example the Kurds of the Armenian highlands may be mentioned. The perpetuation of nomadism in their case is the result of extensive horsebreeding<sup>52</sup>—their chief source of revenue—, which compels them to seek low ground in winter.

Viewed as a whole Asiatic Turkey has changed from an ideal nursery of hardy men to a land of meeting between races and peoples as well as between their ideals. It may be safely predicted that the future of its inhabitants bids fair to be as intimately affected as the past by the circumstances of the remarkable situation of the country and its features. One can only hope for their sake that a thorough invasion of highland and lowland by the spirit of the West will not be delayed much longer. This much may be said now, that the establishment of Christian rule in the land would probably be attended by wholesale conversions to Christianity in many so-called Mohammedan communities where observance of Islamic rites has been dictated by policy rather than by faith.

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<sup>52</sup> D. G. Hogarth: *The Nearer East*, Appleton, New York, 1902, pp. 198-199.

PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIATIC TURKEY

NAME	RACE	RELIGION	SPEECH	HOMELAND	ESTIMATED NUMBER
Allevis (see Tahtajis)	Armenoid	Monotheistic	Arabic	Syrian Mts. and Cilician plains	175,000
Ansariyehs					uncertain
Aptals	Armenoid	Sunni	Arabic	Syrian Mts.	300,000?
Arabs					300
Arameans	Semitic	Hebrew	Aramean	Armenian Highland,	500,000? *
Armenians					
Asdais (see Yezidis)	Armenoid	Christian	Armenian (Aryan)	Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges	
Avshars					
Balikis	Turki	Shia	Turkish	Anti-Taurus	uncertain
	Armenoid	Mixed Moham- medan and Christian	Mixed Arabic, Kurdish and Armenian	Near Sasun	uncertain
Bejvans	Semitic	Mixed Moham- medan and Christian	Arabic	Near Mosul	uncertain
Chaldeans	Semitic	Roman Catholic	Syriac, Kurdish and Arabic	Near Diarbekir and Jezireh; Sert and Khabur basin	50,000
Chepmis (see Tahtajis)					
Circassians	Mixed Turki and	Mohammedan	Turkish	Anatolia, N. Syria, N.	500,000
	Indo-European			Mesopotamia	
Druzes	Armenoid	Mohammedan	Arabic	Lebanon; Anti-Leba- non, Hawran Mts., around Damascus	200,000
Greeks †	Mediterranean	Christian	Greek	Coast districts, min- ing districts, large cities	2,000,000 *
Jacobites	Semitic	Christian (Mono- physites)	Syriac	Syria, Mesopotamia	15,000
Jews	Mixed Semitic, Mediterranean and Armenoid	Hebrew	Hebrew	Jerusalem; environs of Damascus	150,000
Karapapaks	Turki	Shia	Turkish	Tutakh-Patnoz	3,000
Kizilbash					400,000
	Armenoid mixed with Turki	Shia, or mixture of Shiism, Pa- ganism, Mani- chaeism and Christianity	Turkish	Angora and Sivas vil- ayets; Dersim	
Kurds	Indo-European	Mohammedan	Aryan lan- guages	West of the Sakaria River; Kurdistan	1,500,000
Lazis	Georgian branch of the Caucaso- Thibetan peo- ples	Mohammedan	Grusinian	Lazistan; north of Choruk Su, around Riza	uncertain
Maronites	Armenoid	Christian	Arabic	Mt. Lebanon, Anti- Lebanon	350,000
Metauliehs	Probably Arme- noid	Shia	Arabic	Northern Lebanon	under 50,000
Nestorians	Armenoid	Christian	Syriac	Basin of the Great Zab; valleys of the Bohtan and Khabar	60,000
New Chaldeans	Semitic	Christian	Syriac	Alkosh	uncertain
Sabeans	Semitic	Christian	Syriac	Amara and Muntefik sanjaks of the Basra vilayet	3,000
Samaritans	Semitic	Hebrew	Hebrew	Near Nablus	300
Syrians					uncertain
Tahtajis	Armenoid	Christian and Mohammedan	Arabic	Syria and Mesopo- tamia	
Tatars	Turki	Mohammedan	Turkish	Lycian Mts.	5,000
Terekimans (see Karapapaks)					25,000
Turkomans	Turki	Mohammedan	Turkish	Anatolia and Cilician plains	
Turks	Turki mixed with Armenoid	Mohammedan	Turkish	Angora, Adana and Aleppo vilayets	uncertain
Yezidis or Asdais	Mixed Armenoid and Indo- European	Devil-worship- pers, mixture of the old Baby- lonian religion; Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Christianity	Kermanji	Anatolia mainly	8,000,000
				Kurt Dagb on the W. to Zakho E. of the Tigris; Badi near Mosul; Sinjar range.	40,000
Yuruks	Armenoid	Mohammedan	Turkish	Konia vilayet	uncertain

\* The figures for Armenians and Greeks require revision in view of the systematic efforts of the Turks to extirpate these two peoples. The massacres of the entire Greek population of villages of the Aegean coast and atrocities of a most inhuman character perpetrated on the Armenians of inland communities have largely depleted the ranks of these two Christian peoples.

† Hellenes, or subjects of the King of Greece, number about 20,000.